

# DOWN WITH THE SHAH!



**Down with U.S. Imperialism!**

**Down with the "Theory of Three Worlds"**



# SHAH'S 'MODERNIZATION'

The tremendous upsurge of the resistance movement in Iran should be warmly supported by the freedom loving peoples of the world. Iran is a country that is rich in natural and human resources, yet a large number of its people live in total poverty. With inflation reaching 50% a year and with intense government repression it is correct that the Iranian people rise-up to throw off the chains of their oppression. Daily 10's of thousands of people are marching in the streets to take up a peoples war against foreign domination, against the Shah and for a revolution that will lead to peoples democracy and eventually complete social emancipation.

But the American people are being told a different story. The Shah says he's trying to create "an island of peace and tranquility". The US government and the US media are telling us that the Shah wants to "modernize" and "liberalize" his country and that is why "his" people are revolting. We must face these distortions and answer them.

## ARE THE UPRISINGS TRYING TO PREVENT "MODERNIZATION"?

Real modernization would be a good thing for the people of any country. But, we do not have to look very deep to understand what is the true character of the Shah Mohammad Reza Palavi's (the Shah's) so-called "modernization and liberalizations". Recently the Shah "liberalized" the way he rules the country...he installed a military dictatorship. Before, "His Imperial Majesty" ruled single handedly; now he rules through his military! A big change? Hardly. The Shah's "modernization" calls for new roads and communications systems, but rather than serving the needs of the people, they will serve the interests of the ruling class, the military, and the oil monopolies. The Shah's "modernization" is said to include "land reform" where by the peasants get land to till. Instead these small farmers now have the government as their landlord. The peasants are now saddled with impossibly large land payments to the government. Untold thousands have been driven from their land and Iran now has to import 60% of its food products.

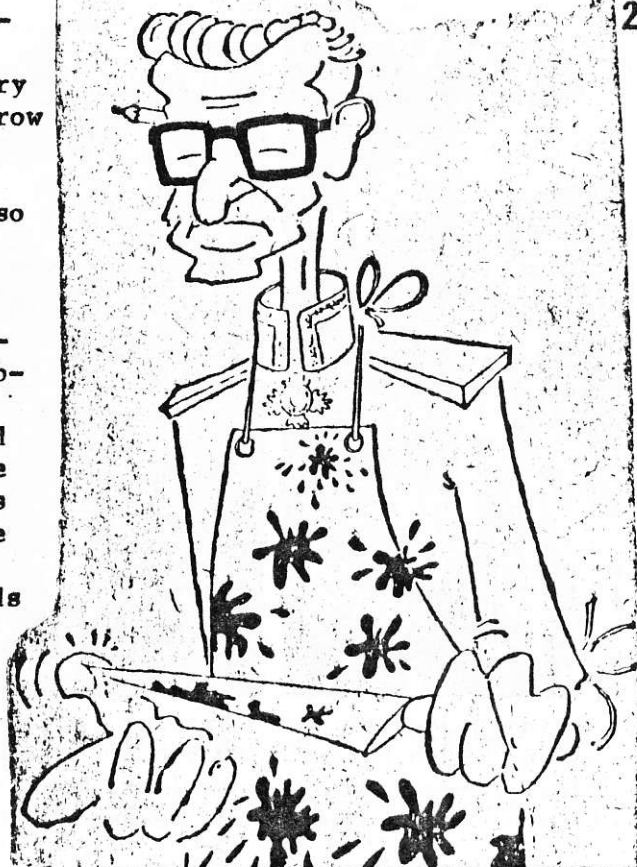
The Shah's "modernization" is said to "liberate" the Iranian women. But what he was really looking for was a new source of cheap labor and a 2nd income to keep impoverished families from revolting.

In short the "modernizations and liberalizations" are a total hoax, a propaganda smoke-screen for a continuation of the Shah's fascist rule.

## WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THE RESISTENCE MOVEMENT IN IRAN TODAY?

The resistance movement is diverse and represents many different political tendencies. There is a common thread that links many of these

political trends. The central demand of the people is the end to foreign domination of their country by US imperialism, and the overthrow of the Shah who is the principle puppet of the US's economic and political interests. There is also a growing consciousness among the people that their revolutionary struggle must be aimed towards the replacement of the present government by a peoples democratic republic in which the working classes, led by its political party, should play the leading role. The people are not being fooled by the Shah's phoney "reforms" and are therefore rising in revolutionary struggle. This is a just struggle and demands the full support of revolutionary and progressive people.



**ARE THE MOSLEM PROTESTERS A PROGRESSIVE FORCE WITHIN THE RESISTENCE MOVEMENT?**

For the Shah and the US press to characterize the Moslems as "fanatics" who are opposed to any modernization is simplistic and wrong. There are conservative sectors of the Islamic movement, for instance that section led by Shariatmadari, but there are also many Moslems who objectively take an anti-imperialist stand by openly organizing against foreign domination and calling for the armed overthrow of the Shah.

In the past, because of the ban on demonstrations, the mass gatherings and protests called by the Islamic leaders have been used as a forum for the entire resistance movement. For example, at the Islamic funeral held for a student killed in a demonstration at Tabriz University, the microphone was passed over to known Marxist supporters of the Organization of Iranian Peoples Fedaii Guerrillas (OIPFG) who in turn led the people with chants of "Independence and Democracy"-to ramsack the government buildings.

*"I really had to liberalize and modernize in order to save democracy"*

*An ever growing number of Iranians are coming to realize that the democracy that the ruling classes offer is totally different than the peoples democracy that they seek- and it must be won by revolutionary struggle of the masses.*





*Moslem protester march through the streets of Tehran carrying an anti-Shah banner. Though there are many different political tendencies among Moslems, most oppose foreign domination of their country and demand an end to the Shah's rule.*

#### IS THE SHAH A PROGRESSIVE FORCE WITHIN IRAN?

A commentary on the Public Broadcasting System (PBS, Nov. 8, 1978) called the Shah a "revolutionary within the context of his own country". The Shah dubbed Iran's development program "The Shah-People's Revolution".

This mask of progressiveness can not hide the reactionary nature of the Shah. Of the 23 billion dollars a year in oil sales, he squanders a major portion of the receipts on military equipment. A military in the hands of the people of an oppressed country is a necessary tool to fight imperialism. But in Iran the police and military are the primary instruments for the suppression of the Iranian people. In one day alone in 1963 the Shah's troops murdered 10,000 demonstrators in Tehran. Add to that thousands more tortured and several thousand more killed in the uprisings of the last few months. In 1975 Amnesty International concluded that "no country in the world has a worse record in human right than Iran". While untold numbers of children die, because most of Iran's towns and cities have contaminated water supplies, the Shah lives in 5 sumptuous palaces and is spending millions to build gambling casinos.

There is nothing progressive about the Shah. He will go to incredible extents to crush the struggle of the Iranian people. Most recently the Shah's forces soaked a crowded movie theater with gasoline- burning to



Iranian demonstrators with wounded comrade after outbreak of rioting

*Far from being a "revolutionary" the Shah uses military power to suppress even the slightest signs of peoples power. He plays no progressive role in his country.*

death 430 people. All this was done under the pretense that Moslem "fanatic" were at fault.

In sum, the Shah is the representative of the most reactionary and counter-revolutionary class in Iran. He is a representative of the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie (the comprador bourgeoisie). This class does not play "progressive" roles in underdeveloped countries.

#### ARE THE SHAH&IRAN PART OF THE SO-CALLED "NON-ALIGNED" MOVEMENT OF THE "THIRD WORLD"?

Some people are claiming that all underdeveloped countries of the "third world" are playing a progressive (even revolutionary) role in the world against the two super powers.

There is nothing "neutral" of "non-aligned" about Iran under the Shah. As the political leader he directs the country in a way which will best preserve his own tyrannical rule and that of his imperialist master- the USA. He is very much aligned with US imperialism and secondarily with other western imperialist powers, particularly Britain and West Germany. He has made a career of being a puppet for the imperialist bloc headed by the US.

Within OPEC, Iran has on some occasions fought against raising the price of crude oil because it might hurt the fragile economies of his masters in Europe and America. The Shah has come to the aid of the US dollar, when it was slipping on the international market. The economic

'I am the genie of the oil lamp. Your wish is my command.'



Actually the Shah is the puppet of the US. A close economic, political and military relationship exists between the Shah and US imperialism. They depend on each other to maintain their power and economic wellbeing, though the final say-so belongs to the US, who brought the Shah to power. So how can he be "non-aligned"?

fate of the Shah is connected to the whole economic fabric that ties the Western imperialists to their neo-colonies.

#### IS THE SHAH ANTI-IMPERIALIST?

Some 'revolutionaries' claim that the Shah is objectively anti-imperialist because he opposes the Russians, who are the "most dangerous" of the superpowers.

The Shah is the guardian of the interests of US imperialism in this very strategic Persian Gulf region. He is the main recipient of US arms there. Iran is equipt with modern jet fighters, submarines, 4 destroyers (sold by Nixon and which are now to be set-up with surface to air missiles), nuclear power, and 24,000 US personnel working directly for the Shah's military apparatus, with 16,000 Americans aiding the military indirectly. Carter has proclaimed his full backing for the Shah by sending messages of support and fresh supplies of anti-riot supplies. The Shah in turn is active in suppressing national liberation struggles that threaten US allies (for example in Oman), and is a supporter of Zionism in Isreal. Iran is the regional backbone of CENTO (Central Treaty Organization). CENTO is the mutual security pact comprising Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan and Britain with the US as an associate member. Like NATO it is a direct military arm of US imperialism, which has no independent life apart from the US.

There are two countries (the US and Russia) which together are the main enemy of the people of the world. It is therefore incorrect to call a country that is the agent of one imperialis superpower, anti-imperialist, because it opposes the other superpower. (no more than we would call East Germany or Ethiopia anti-imperialist because they oppose US imperialism) Who could dare to call the Shah "progressive", "non-aligned", and "anti-imperialist"?

#### IS RUSSIA A FRIEND OF THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION?

The Russians recently have been gaining credibility in Iran because they claim to oppose the Shah.

The Russians capitalist have long accepted the rule of the Shah in Iran. They have extensive trade relationships that aid the Shah's economy. Russian aid built 134 projects including projects which account for "the production of 90% of all coal in Iran, almost 90% of the iron ore, and 70% of the steel" (TIME, 9/18/78 pg. 36). Also by receiving natural gas from Iran the Russians are able to sell more gas to Europe and thereby increase their economic blackmail. The Russians also were a major source of arms which were used in suppressing the Iranian people. This cozy relationship between the Russians and the Shah has existed until just recently when they began to doubt whether the Shah could remain in power.

Inside Iran the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party (the so-called Iranian Communist Party) has resolutely opposed violence. What better way to protect the Shah? By opposing the tactic of armed struggle and calling for elections and reforms, they contribute to the credibility of the Shah and encourage the people to live peacefully with him. These are treasonous positions which have nothing in common with the positions of a socialist country of a revolutionary party.

WHAT DOES THE "THEORY OF THE THREE WORLDS" TELL REVOLUTIONARIES INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF IRAN TO DO? WHAT HAS BEEN THE PRACTICE OF CHINA TOWARDS THE SHAH AND THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION?

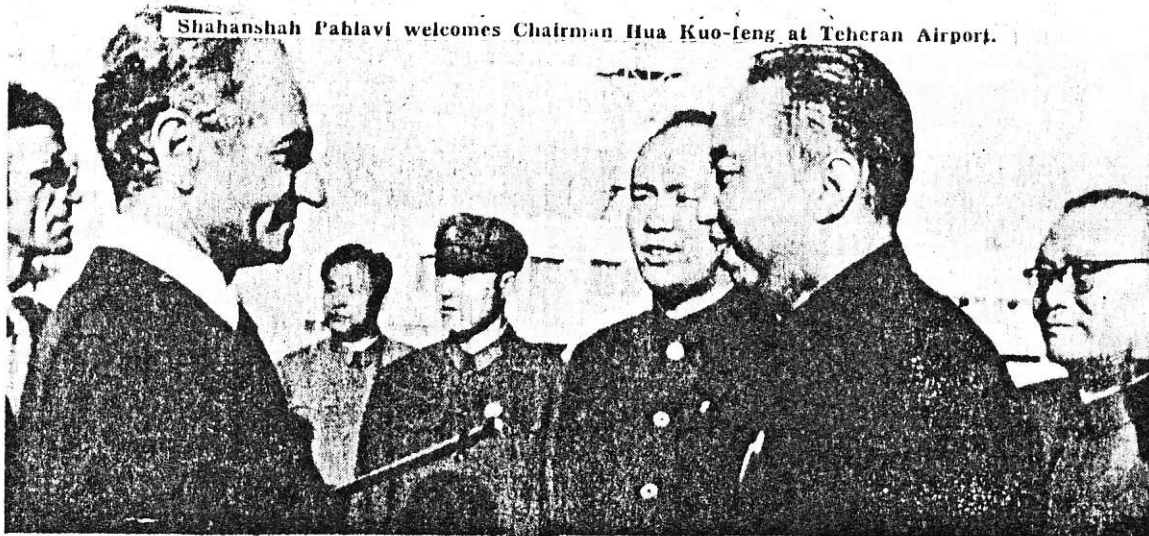
The Peoples Republic of China, together with socialist Albania, used to be shining examples to the Revolutionary and freedom loving people of the world. While strengthening their own economies, these socialist countries always represented the interests of the world's people. Today China is shamefully supporting the reactionary governments of the neo-colonial countries.

The "theory of the three worlds" says that the "third world" (the underdeveloped countries oppressed by imperialism) are the main force of the world revolution. What this "theory" fails to point out is that there are both revolutionary & counter-revolutionary classes in the "third world"- and it fails to point out that most "3rd world" countries are ruled by the pro-imperialist puppet class (the comprador bourgeoisie). Contrary to what the "three world theory" preaches, this class of rulers is almost incapable of playing any progressive role. This class will lead its country to collaborate with imperialism- not fight it. The main force of the world revolution should be defined as follows; the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries, together with the liberation movements and the revolutionary classes in the oppressed nations and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist country. Applying this to the conditions of Iran we would support the Iranian struggle while opposing the Shah.

China on the other hand has embraced "His Imperial Majesty" (Hua Kuo-feng's own words) as a fighter against hegemonism. The significance of Hua's trip to Iran can hardly be overstated. This was the 1st visit by



Shahanshah Pahlavi welcomes Chairman Hua Kuo-feng at Teheran Airport.



Hua's 1978 travels were concrete examples of how Hua and Teng intend to implement their strategic "theory of the three worlds". It is important to analyze what they are doing and who they are supporting. Why did they choose Iran as one of the three countries in the world in which to visit? Did Hua support the Shah and support the people's upsurge against US imperialism that was taking place during his visit?...or did he unite with this "third world " leader while rejecting the revolutionary struggles of the Iranian people. Contrary to what "3 worlders" in the US are claiming, the "three world theory" abandons most of the genuine national liberation struggles by preaching peace with neo-colonial leaders, and covering for the existing imperialist domination of their countries. In Hua's statement (from Peking Review #36, 9/8/78) which appears below, he puts forward counter-revolutionary conclusions. Hua's statements essentially call upon the Iranian demonstrators to not overthrow the Shah, but follow his lead.

In modern times, your country suffered from imperialist aggression and oppression. But the Iranian people never submitted, they fought heroically, defeated the forces of aggression and defended the independence of their country. Today, under the leadership of His Imperial Majesty the

Shahanshah, the Iranian people have scored gratifying successes in safeguarding the country's independence and sovereignty, protecting their national resources and building their country. Iran is playing a role of increasing importance in international affairs.

Peking Review, No. 36 . September 8, 1978

The counter-revolutionary conclusions he puts forth are as follows;

- 1) Hua covers for the US imperialism which PRESENTLY dominates Iran by saying that "imperialist aggression & oppression...(were) defeated." To the contrary, imperialism remains to be defeated.
- 2) Hua claims that the Shah has and can provide leadership in "safeguarding the country's independence". To the contrary the Shah who is a puppet of imperialism, must be overthrown in order to GAIN future independence.
- 3) Hua says that under the Shah "Iran is playing" an important role internationally. Hua, of course, fails to point out that the Shah is "playing" it on behalf of Western imperialism and that his role is reactionary.



the Chinese chairman in 20 years. The visit to Iran came in the midst of <sup>8</sup> this decades most significant uprisings against the Shah. The statements of mutual support by each ruler would make even the most renoun revisionist blush.

It is correct for the people to unite with their national bourgeoisie, when that class demonstrates a willingness to FIGHT THE IMPERIALISTS who dominate the national life of their country. It should be obvious that the Shah does not fight US imperialism. For the ruling clic of the Communist Party of China to herald the Shah as A PROGRESSIVE, as non-aligned, and as anti-hegemonist is to call upon the Iranian people to give him critical support or even to unite with him. This line is treasonous to the revolution. It calls our enemies- "friends". It urges class coloboration (with the comprodor bourgeoisie) and continues the domination of Iran by the US.

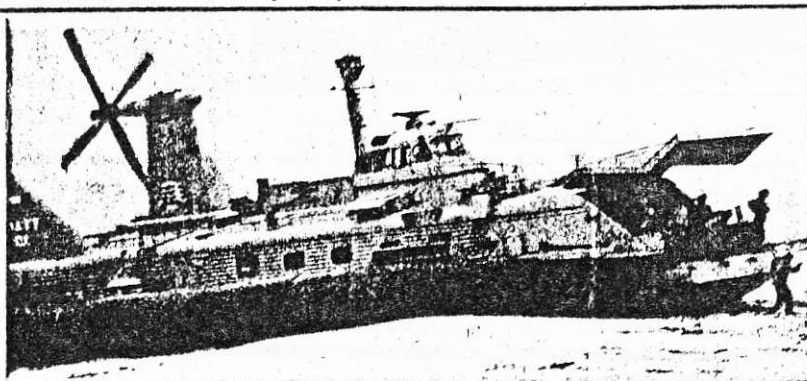
The "three worlds theory" advocates a world united front against the two superpowers, but it does this only word. As the Albanian comrades point out, the Communist Party of China (CPC) is practicing a policy of uniting all who can be united to defeat the Soviet Union (including uniting with the puppets of the US imperialists, like the Shah, and with the US itself).

The Chinese periodicals glorify the "anti-imperialist" role being played by OPEC and the stand being taken by the Shah. Though OPEC places a few limitations on the direct control of oil by the US, the Shah has often been a spokesman within OPEC for cooperation with the US.

The Chinese support CENTO, a regional security pact of the US military, claiming that it can be a force against hegemonism. What they actually mean is that it will fight the hegemonism of one superpower by fighting along side the other superpower. This is a dangerous distortion of how we should identify anti-imperialist forces. CENTO was created at the insistence of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in 1955 as a counterpart to NATO in Southwest Asia. So what China is doing is pursuing a policy of relying on one superpower to fight the other, relying and uniting with one half of the main enemy to fight the other half of the main enemy.

*China is "one of CENTO's firmest boosters... In Tehran last month, China's Chairman Hua Kuo-feng told the Shah that he was concerned about what an Iranian official later paraphrased as the 'moral,*

*China is pursing a policy of relying on and uniting with one superpower to fight the other. China encourages the Shah to be the regional military watch-dog for the US. Who's interests will these gunboats protect?*



9 physical, and political deterioration of the traditional groupings in the area!...so in the geopolitics of the 70's China ranks as a sort of honorary member of CENTO". (TIME, 9/18/78 pg. 46)

Most recently Iran, the US, and China finalized a "profit sharing" venture. Intercontinental Hotels Corp. (a subsidiary of Pan American World Airways- a sizeable part of which is Iranian owned and controlled) will operate six "First Class" hotels in China, some to be built with foreign labor (Associated Press story Nov. 10, 78).

The Chinese and the "3 worlders" are consistently covering for US imperialism in Iran- the main enemy of the Iranian people. In Peking Review #42 (Oct. 20, 78) an article appears describing the Iranian strikes and demonstrations. The article purposely avoids saying whether or not it supports the peoples struggles, it doesn't mention the Shah, the military repression of the anti-Shah demonstrators, nor a single word about what the people are demanding. The Peking Review article pretends US domination doesn't exist- it say the "big powers" are "attempting" to "control" Iran. But it whispers nothing about the fact that a "big power" already controls Iran and that



THE "THEORY OF THE THREE WORLDS"...

The theoretical justification for this theory is that it is needed to be able to oppose war and Russian Domination. It declares that there are two super-powers, but that only one is really dangerous; one progressive.

US imperialism suddenly becomes a force which can be trusted as an allie, against a GREATER FASCIST threat. US is on the defensive & non-agressive & no longer willing to launch imperialist war, according to the "3 worlds theory".

that has a hell of a lot to do with why people are demonstrating. The article reserves its main blow for Breznev and company in its final comments. Again in a November 1st statement to Japanese reporters Teng Hsiao-ping talked about the great gains being made by the Social Imperialist in Afganistan and elsewhere. Teng then added "and we all know who is behind the trouble in Iran"! This statement is an outrage. The genuine aspirations of the people are BEHIND the "trouble", but Teng believes that the revolutionary struggles of the Iranians are merely the activities of the Russians. It should be clear that this revisionist cannot distinguish between revolution and counter-revolution and that he does not support the Iranian revolution. This is indeed a tragic set-back for the revolutionary Chinese people, for the Iranian people and for all workers and oppressed peoples who once looked to the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania for international example. These positions on the international situation, articulated in the "theory of the three worlds", are a shameful expansion of a counter-revolutionary line. But every new act by the Chinese will expose them- we will not be fooled.



Tito, Pinochet, and the Shah (shown above) are puppets of imperialism & should be overthrown. But according to the "3 world theory" the 3rd world leaders are part of the main force of world revolution. The practice of the CPC proves this point.



Shield reads- "3 Worlds Theory" This revisionist theory covers for US imperialism & its reactionary puppets. (These graphics come from a poster done by the Communist Party of Spain (ML), a formerly fraternal party with the CPC.)



WHAT SHOULD PROGRESSIVE AND REVOLUTIONARY FORCE IN THE US DO  
TO SUPPORT THE IRANIAN PEOPLE?

- 1) Being in the heart of the country that oppresses Iran, it is essential that we make proletarian internationalism a living principle by working closely with the Iranian revolution. In the US there are many outstanding Iranian patriots, revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists within the Iranian Student Assotiations with whom we should link ourselves.
- 2) Together with the Iranians we should strive to educate the American people about the nature of the US imperialist system and rally them to demand its overthrow. We must also expose the lies of the US news media that paint the Shah as a progressive and a modernizer.
- 3) In addition to supporting demonstrations which are called for by the Iranians, we should organize events which can raise educational, physical and material support for their cause.
- 4) We should organize to prevent the sales of military aid and armaments to fascist and reactionary regimes like that of the Shah.
- 5) We should take revolutionary politics into the working class, the only class capable of leading to the complete destruction of world imperialism.
- 6) Marxist-Leninists should dedicate themselves to building the revolutionary party of the working class, without which US imperialism won't fall.
- 7) We must fight resolutely against all forms of opportunism, revisionism, and social-chauvinism within the Iranian groups and most particularly within the US working class and its organizations. In the US we target US Imperialism & internationally we target the two superpowers as the main enemy of the people of the world. In Iran the US is the main enemy yet our propaganda should warn against the danger of the Russian imperialists who pose as the natural allie of the "third world". We must also expose the "theory of the three worlds" as a line that represents a new brand of revisionism and class collaboration which is a danger to the revolutionary aspirations of the world's people.

LONG LIVE THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION! DOWN WITH US IMPERIALISM AND ITS  
PUPPET- THE FASCIST SHAH! DOWN WITH THE "THEORY OF THE 3 WORLDS" !



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*Iranian students abroad have formed a vocal vanguard in almost every major city.*